

WHOLE NO. 545.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

their employment in another State should or should not make them free on their return, and that the Court of Appeals having decided that, by the laws of that State, they continued to be slaves, that decision was, in his opinion, conclusive."

This same doctrine is also fully maintained by the Supreme Court of the U. S. in the case of the U. S. vs. the ship *Garcon*. The facts of the case were, that Mrs. Smith, a widow lady of Louisiana, had visited France, and had taken with her the slave *Priscilla*. Afterward she was brought back by the son in law of Mrs. Smith and lived in Louisiana as his slave.

Chief Justice Taney, in delivering the opinion of the Court held: That even assuming by the French laws, that *Priscilla* was entitled to her freedom, upon her introduction into that country, the Court was of opinion that there was nothing in the act of Congress to prevent her mistress from bringing her back to her place of residence, and continuing to hold her as before in her service, and that, although the girl had been staying for a time in France, in the service of her mistress, yet in contemplation of law, she still continued an inhabitant of Louisiana.

To return to the question: When brought within the State of Ohio for a temporary purpose by the consent of the master, did they become free in consequence of that clause of the Constitution of Ohio which declares that no slave or involuntary servitude shall exist within her limits? We think not; the effect of that clause being to prevent slavery as an institution within her limits, rather than to execute the act of manumission upon foreign slaves temporarily upon our soil with the master's consent.

Supposing that Ohio has the right under her Constitution to pass laws making the slave free the moment he stands upon Ohio soil, by the consent of the master, it is sufficient for the purpose of this case that, at the time Mary Garner and Simon Garner were in the State of Ohio as alleged, there was no law declaring that the relations they held to their master as slaves were dissolved and at an end.

Had they refused to return to Kentucky, it is quite possible that the owner would have invoked the aid of legal process to compel their return in vain. The Federal Courts could not have interfered to the custody and control of their master, because they were present in Ohio by act of the master, and not as fugitives who had escaped into Ohio. The Constitution and laws of the United States: all powerful as they are, and I trust always will be, in national and international affairs, were inoperative when by the act of the parties, the whole case was brought within the jurisdiction and disposal of the State of Ohio.

The aid of legal process from Ohio Courts could not have been obtained, for Ohio has enacted no laws for the control and management of foreign slaves while, for the purpose of sojourn or transit, temporarily within her borders.

With this state of the law, slaves asserting their freedom become, practically free. The master has no longer the right of violent subjection to his command, but the State of Ohio extends to both parties the protection of equal laws.

But this possible freedom, freedom in *passu*, rather than in *esse*, is something which the law of Ohio rather protects than creates. That the slave brought by his master into Ohio, and refusing to return becomes free, is one of the inevitable results of the proposition that slavery is a creature of law, and cannot maintain itself where the laws do not regulate it, and provide for its continuance.

But the slaves having been brought to Ohio by the master, returns with him voluntarily to the State of Kentucky, what, then, is the relation between them? While in Ohio, the Ohio courts could have determined for the whole matter, and properly within her control. The act of the parties again managed the jurisdiction, and the whole matter rested again within the control of the State of Kentucky.

The claim upon the State of Ohio for protection against violent abduction was not made. The right to be free was waived. In coming to Ohio the master voluntarily abandoned his legal power over his slave, and in returning voluntarily the slave has equally abandoned his claim to freedom.

Upon the return of slaves voluntarily to Kentucky with their master, their relations become confirmed by the laws and jurisdiction of that State, and with that settlement of the question the Supreme Court of the United States has declined to interfere. The law, as thus determined, we have already stated in the earlier part of our opinion.

With reference to the particular case before us, we therefore are under the necessity of holding that these defendants, Mary Garner, Simon Garner, Jr., were legally held in slavery at the time of their escape on the 26th of January 1856.

We have given our opinion in our opinion as the leading ones upon this subject, and which throw light upon the issues to be met in this case. They are the landmarks by which we have been guided in our decision.

The next and last question to be settled arises under the Constitutional provision for the rendition of fugitives from labor, under the Fugitive Slave Law, and the facts proved in the case render our duty clear and unmistakable one.

The question is not one of humanity that I am called upon to decide. The laws of Kentucky and of the United States make it a question of property. It is not a question of feeling to be decided by the chance current of my sympathies. There are to be adjudicated the rights of an institution so agreed to in the formation of our Government as to make it both municipal and federal in its character. It is the essence of the institution that the slave does not possess equal rights with the free man. The abstract rights to liberty and property are in his case replaced by statutes providing expressly for his condition. It has been our duty, as a court, to listen with attention, and we trust, with courtesy to all of those arguments which have urged the decision of the question upon moral rather than legal grounds. We conceive that our highest moral obligation in this case is to administer impartially the plain provisions of the law.

However painful the result may be to the defendants in this case, it is my duty to deliver them, Simon Garner, Sr., Simon Garner, Jr., and Mary Garner, fugitives from service, into the custody of the claimant, James Marshall.

He then proceeded to consider the claim of *Gaines* to *Margaret alias Peggy Garner*, a mulatto woman; *Tom, negro boy*; *Sam, a mulatto boy*; and *Archibald K. Gaines*, an infant girl, claimed by *Archibald K. Gaines*, of Boone county Kentucky, as fugitives from service and labor in the State of Kentucky.

In this case it is claimed by the defense, that *Peggy*, when about six years old, was permitted by her previous master, to come to the State of Ohio, and upon that fact they claim that she is entitled to her freedom; and that, since free at that time, and her children being born free, they are also entitled to freedom.

These facts present for our consideration the same question which was raised in the case of *Marshall vs. Simon Garner et al.*, and the decision which we have just announced applies equally in this case.

We shall therefore make the order that the parties named, to wit: *Peggy, Tom, Sam, and Silla*, be delivered into the custody and possession of the claimant *Archibald K. Gaines*.

On the same day of the Commissioner's decision, but before his delivery, the following proceedings were had before Judge Leavitt, of the United States District Court. Here as in Pennsylvania the United States Court perceived the writ of Habeas Corpus for the enlargement of men instead of using it for protection of their liberty:

HABEAS CORPUS FOR THE FUGITIVE SLAVES.

BEFORE JUDGE LEAVITT.

A writ of Habeas Corpus having been issued by Judge Leavitt at the instance of the U. S. Marshal, the Sheriff and Marshal both appeared yesterday morning in the U. S. Court Rooms, with their counsel prepared to argue the case.

The argument was opened by Mr. Headington, Counsel for the Marshal. He claimed that the Sheriff's arrest of the fugitives, when placed in the county jail by the Marshal, was illegal—that no crime could warrant him in making this arrest, and that the only legal way for him to have reach-

ed them was by a writ of habeas corpus. He claimed that they were not property, but persons, and as such were properly "prisoners," and came under the resolution of Congress and the Act of Assembly of Ohio, which authorized to U. S. Marshal to use the county jail for the confinement of U. S. "prisoners." It was all well enough, to say that the right of property of an individual must give way to the right of the State to punish a criminal, but he saw no way in which it could be done.

Judge Headley, Counsel for the Sheriff, replied:

He cited cases to show that a Habeas Corpus ad subjunctum did not lie from one jurisdiction to another—from that of the General Government to that of a State. He considered international law and its application to sovereign States. He claimed that the right of a State to punish a slave inhabitant of another State as clearly as to punish a white citizen of another commonwealth, for even in the Southern States slaves were regarded by the law as sensible human beings—were punished for all crimes that white men were punished for, and in some States held even to a higher accountability, and punished for crimes which in white men were winked at or overlooked.

He also remarked that there was no other means of reaching these criminals—that if they were returned back to Kentucky, that no requisition was applicable to them.

After citing a large number of authorities in support of his position, he closed his argument by reading an editorial on this case from the New York *Journal of Commerce*, which was republished in the *Gazette*.

Mr. Headington replied, after which Judge Leavitt yielded the Bench to Commissioner Pendery, who then gave his decision on the case of *Marshall and Gaines*. It is understood that Judge Leavitt will give his decision on the Habeas Corpus this morning at 9 o'clock.

HABEAS CORPUS BEFORE JUDGE BURGYN.

Judge Burgyn of the Court of Common Pleas, also granted a writ of Habeas Corpus for the three children. He alleged the illegal detention by the United States Marshal of the three negro children, Samuel, Thomas and Silla Garner. This was on Wednesday afternoon. After some arguments of counsel upon technical points,

Judge Burgyn intimated that in view of the serious and important questions involved, he should require some time to render a decision. He intimated, however, that a majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court having passed on the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law, was no reason why he should not take up the Constitution and read it for himself, being sworn to support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Ohio.

Mr. Ketchum suggested that his honor was as much bound in conscience to regard the decision of the majority of the Judges of the United States Courts as the express provisions of the Constitution itself.

Judge Burgyn said that however the decisions of the Judges of the United States Courts might aid him in coming to a conclusion, where the obligations of his conscience were involved, he could not screen himself behind a decision made by somebody else.

Mr. Julliffe asked the Court to make a special order that the children should not be taken out of the limits of the jurisdiction until the final decision of the case.

The Court—we ought not to allow the parties to be in any worse condition than if the return had been promptly made, and therefore shall enter the order. We shall probably decide the case on Saturday.

JUDGE LEAVITT'S DECISION—SURRENDER OF THE FUGITIVES.

On the 28th, Judge Leavitt gave the following decision on the Habeas Corpus case before him: *Ex parte, H. H. Robinson, Marshal, et al., Habeas Corpus.*

Without taking time to set forth at length the facts appearing in the petition for this Habeas Corpus, and the return made to it, I may say, in brief, that the question involved is, whether the Marshal or the Sheriff of Hamilton county is rightfully entitled to the custody of the four persons named in these proceedings. At the time that this writ was sued out, a claim for these persons, with others alleged to be fugitive Slaves, was pending and undetermined before a Commissioner of this Court. In the progress of the investigation of this claim, the Commissioner, for the safe keeping of the alleged fugitives, had ordered them to be confined in the jail of Hamilton county, to be brought before him from time to time, as he might require. The Commissioner, before a Commissioner of this Court, issued an order to the Marshal and Sheriff to produce the bodies of all the alleged fugitives (seven in number) in the morning of the next day at 10 o'clock, to answer to his final judgment in the premises. In pursuance of this order, the Marshal made the attempt to get the possession of the persons named in the writ, but the Sheriff refused to permit him to take them from the jail, the four persons in reference to whom the writ of habeas issued. The return of the Marshal sets forth as the grounds of his refusal, that the Grand Jury of Hamilton county having previously returned a bill against the persons named in the writ for the crime of murder in the first degree, a writ of capias was duly issued on the 20th of February, commanding him to take the said persons into his custody, to answer to said charge; and that on the same day, pursuant to the writ, he did send word to them, they being in the jail of Hamilton county, upon the order for their commitment by the Commissioner, as before stated, and made a return of such arrest on the writ of capias. And the Sheriff claims that he is rightfully in the possession of these persons because of the proceedings in the case cannot surrender to the Marshal on his claim.

The question presented on these facts is one of conflict between the Marshal and the Sheriff, as to the legal custody of these persons. It is insisted by the counsel of the Marshal, that they were lawfully under lawful process from the Commissioner, and that it was not competent for the Sheriff to arrest them, under the process of the State, while they were so held under process issued by authority of the laws of the United States. On the other hand, it is claimed by the counsel of the Sheriff, that the proceedings in the case, under the Fugitive Slave Act, then pending, and their commitment to the jail of Hamilton county, did not shield them from arrest on a charge of a violation of the criminal law of the State of Ohio.

In disposing of this question, I am free to confess, I have had some anxiety to find a legal basis upon which I could satisfactorily reach the conclusion, that these fugitives could properly be held in custody under the process of the State, notwithstanding the fact of their being in the prior legal custody of the Marshal. And my first impressions were strongly in favor of the position, that as the claim of the owner in the proceeding under the Fugitive Slave Act, was the mere assertion of a civil right, it must be subordinate, and yield to the rights of the State to assert and enforce its criminal laws. But upon a closer examination of the principle involved, and the cases referred to in bearing on the question, I am prepared to adopt a different conclusion.

If the question as to the rightful custody of these four persons could be controlled and governed, with exclusive reference to the rights asserted by their owner and claimant, I should have no hesitancy in holding that these rights could not be protected at the hazard of infringing upon the rights and dignity of the State of Ohio. But there is obviously another phase of this subject, that presents it in a different and far more imposing aspect. In sustaining, as I am always inclined to do, the just power and sovereign rights of the State, the claims of the national government, and the necessity of maintaining and vindicating its laws, must not be overlooked. In our compound system, the National and State Governments have their appropriate functions and duties; and it is vital to the healthful action of the system, that each should be within its constitutional orbit; thereby avoiding conflicts and collisions.

But without extending my remarks in this direction, I may observe that if the four persons named in the writ of habeas corpus, came at the time of their arrest by the Sheriff, in the custody of the Marshal under process issued by authority

of a law of the United States, I do not see how that custody can be superseded. And I may here remark, that speaking judicially, this question is not affected by the fact that the law of the United States under which the process issues, and these persons are in custody, may be viewed, even by a majority of community as inexpedient, unjust, or oppressive. Until repealed, or adjudged void on the ground of unconstitutionality by the proper judicial tribunal of the Union, it must be respected and observed as law.

In holding as I must do in this case, that the right of the Marshal to the custody of the person in question must be respected, I am not to be understood as asserting that a fugitive slave is not responsible for the violation of the criminal laws of the State to which he may have fled. It is the undoubted right of every State to punish crime committed within its limits. A State destitute of this right in its freest and fullest exercise, could have no just claim to sovereignty. And if an escaped slave could violate law with impunity, many of the States of this Union would be in a most defenceless condition. It is not asserted, therefore, that they are not liable to punishment, but merely that if they are in custody of an officer, under a law of the United States before their arrest for crime against the State law, the latter arrest cannot be enforced till the disability existing by the prior arrest is removed. In other words, the slave being in the custody of an officer acting under the authority of another, and for the purposes of this question, a foreign jurisdiction, he cannot, by the mere force of a subsequent arrest, be delivered from such custody.

In *Dorr's case*, 3. Howard Rep. 105, Judge McLean, in giving the opinion of the Supreme Court, stated that the position just stated. That was an application for habeas corpus to deliver *Dorr* from imprisonment in the State of Rhode Island, under a sentence for treason committed against that State. Judge McLean says: "Neither this or any other Court of the United States, or of any State, has jurisdiction to issue a writ of habeas corpus to bring up a prisoner who is in custody, under sentence or execution of a State Court, for any other purpose than to be used as a witness. And it is immaterial whether the imprisonment be under civil or criminal process."

If it be true as here asserted, that no federal Court can interfere with the execution of the jurisdiction of a State Court, either in a civil or criminal case, the converse of the proposition is equally true. And it results, that a State Court cannot take from an officer of the United States, on a criminal charge, the custody of a person in execution of a civil case.

It is said in argument, that if these persons cannot be held by the arrest of the Sheriff under the State process, the rights and dignity of Ohio are invaded without the possibility of redress. I can not concur in this view. The Constitution and Laws of the United States provide for a redemptive remedy, and that if these persons cannot be held by the arrest of the Sheriff under the State process, the rights and dignity of Ohio are invaded without the possibility of redress. I can not concur in this view. The Constitution and Laws of the United States provide for a redemptive remedy, and that if these persons cannot be held by the arrest of the Sheriff under the State process, the rights and dignity of Ohio are invaded without the possibility of redress. I can not concur in this view. 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Communication.

LETTER FROM KANSAS.

LAWRENCE, K. T., Feb. 15, 1856.

DEAR MARIE: I see by your paper that quite an interest is felt in Kansas affairs, by my good friends in Ohio. I hope many of them will come out here in the spring and help settle this vexed question by the plowshare rather than by the sword. It is already settled, so far as the actual residents can settle it, that there is no slavery in Kansas. It is almost true that there is no pro-slavery party in the Territory. The pro-slavery party is in Missouri. The voters, last spring, came from there and returned again after the election. Some members of the Legislature resided there when elected, and reside there yet. Most of the important officers who were appointed by the Legislature, resided in Missouri when appointed, and have since returned there because the people will not employ them. In the late attempt to collect a Sheriff's posse for the purpose of arresting half a dozen Free State men, in Lawrence they came from Missouri to the number of about two thousand. If there was a pro-slavery party in Kansas equal to the Free State party, why did they make such an outcry for help from Missouri, and why do they now make such supplication to the whole South for men, money, and arms?

I send you David R. Atchison's appeal. Perhaps you have seen it before. Now to match this, I propose that one hundred Free State men come from Ohio, and as many from other States as can come, and while border fiends are going on let these peaceful men go into the interior, open farms, and occupy the land.

I have travelled through the Territory on both sides of the Kaw river about 170 miles west. The south side is the most level and fertile. The creeks have very high banks, say 20 and 30 feet or more and muddy bottoms and generally muddy water. Timber is scarce and only on the border of streams. The land is extremely fertile. You frequently see coal cropping out in creeks and ravines. I have never seen or heard of any mine that would pay for working. As a stock growing country I have never seen its equal. On the north side of the river, the land is different. The streams are clear with rocky bottoms. You can see the pebbly bottom where the water is ten feet deep or more. The land is a sandy loam, quite fertile, growing grass nearly as good as timothy, often two tons to the acre. Corn grows luxuriantly—with good cultivation, a hundred bushels and more to the acre—in soil fifteen feet deep. The country is divided into table land and bottom land. As you rise from the creek or river bottom you ascend a bluff from forty to a hundred feet in height. After you are once fairly up on the top of this table land, you have a very level road till you come to the next creek. If you travel on the divide between two streams, you may often go hundreds of miles with a loaded wagon without touching a wheel. This table land is not likely to be settled soon, at least, not till the river and creek bottoms are occupied. There are the most enchanting lands for farmers that have ever been seen. Cattle can be raised there more fertile. Always stock water upon them, frequently a good spring. Stone enough in the bluff for all building and fencing purposes, and timber for lumber and fuel, with an assurance that it will increase instead of diminish, as soon as the fire is kept out. There is no wet land or swamps in the Territory. So soon as the prairie breaking is over, the prospect is, it will be remarkably healthy. The best locations for settlement now open and unencumbered, according to my taste and judgment, are to be found north of the Kaw river, in its tributaries and their branches. There is now a large settlement of Ohio people from Belmont county, on the head waters of the Vermilion river. They find a delightful country with plenty of timber. Travellers had supposed there was no timber here. You may travel along the highway within half a mile of a hundred acres of good timber and not see it because it is all below you and hidden by the bluffs. There are hundreds and thousands of good farm-claims lying on the waters of the Vermilion river. Rock Creek, Big Blue and Republican fork present openings as enchanting as can be found in America. And to the practical man nothing can exceed them in utility. We want good substantial farmers to come out and take possession of them. Men of nerve, men of means and men of intelligence. If the best part of the Territory does not remain open for settlement now, it is at least as good as any. If people get here by the first of June, and have a team, they can raise corn and truck enough to do them a year. Good hay can be had for the cutting, as much as is needed.

If any considerable number come to farm a new settlement, they must bring a saw-mill with them if possible.

A. W.

For the Anti-Slavery Bugle.

THE IMPEACHMENT OF JUDGE KANE. What are the friends of freedom doing or intending to do upon this subject? By a letter from Mr. Leiter I learn that he has received petitions signed by about 100 persons, which he has presented. And none of these from Portage county! If his constituents alone were in earnest in their opposition to the encroachments of the slave power upon our own liberties, they could easily send him petitions with twenty thousand names, in two weeks time. The Republican members of Congress from Ohio are willing, and anxious, to do the will of their constituents, in opposing slavery, if they can only be informed distinctly what that wish is, but the people appear to rest satisfied with electing their candidates, and afterwards take no pains to instruct their delegates by petition or otherwise, as to what measures they wish to see consummated. To war successfully against such an enemy as the one we contend with, he must be assailed at every vulnerable point. To meet him only upon the issues which he aggressively presents is to allow him forever to retain his present advantages, even if we successfully repel those aggressions.

No more deadly blow was ever struck at individual liberty than in the proceedings of Judge Kane in the case of the Wheeler negroes, and his imprisonment of Passmore Williamson. No man's liberty can be accounted safe whilst he is allowed to continue in office. The impeachment should be unanimously demanded by the people. If we fail to get it the present Congress, duty to ourselves, and to our children, will impel us to urge it upon the attention of the next, and never yield the point until he is removed from a position so dangerous to the liberties of the people. Large numbers of printed petitions, I know have been circulated and numerous signed. Why are these not forwarded at once to Congress, that the members may know the people understand the subject and are in earnest upon it? See to it all ye who love liberty for yourselves, and who feel called upon to strike a blow for the oppressed slave.

A. BROOKE.

MARIETTA, March 1st, 1856.

LETTER FROM B. C. GILBERT.

Mr. Editor: I have just read in the Bugle of the 23d the comments of A. Brooke, on the Ohio State Senate's action, in reference to the memorial of the Executive Committee of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, asking that body, to take such steps, as will result in the withdrawal of Ohio from the Union.

Did A. Brooke did any member of the Executive Committee? did any disunionist of Ohio, suppose, that such a memorial would any more than meet with a respectful reception, and hearing, in either branch of the Legislature.

Was disunion a plank in the platform of the Republican party? So far from it, the disunion orators, during the canvass last fall, denounced that party for its entire lack of anything approximating toward true anti-slavery, and demonstrated as they thought, or seemed to think, that no anti-slavery man could consistently vote for any of its candidates. And yet, no sooner has it triumphed, than they ask it to adopt their most ultra measure, and your correspondent is so outraged with the Senate, and its committee's treatment of the memorial, that he cannot characterize them without employing epithets, from which for the present however, he refrains.

Who does the present Legislature of Ohio represent? Some hundred and fifty thousand men who are determined that Congress shall legislate in such way as to prevent the further spread of Slavery, and guard the interests of freedom in every way it can under the Constitution. As a means to this end, they want to send to the United States Senate a man who will faithfully attend to these interests. But just here, the memorialists come forward and "most earnestly solicit them to decline entering into an election for that purpose."

Who are these Legislators to be governed by? The great majority who did select them, or the small minority who utterly repudiated them? To ask such a question is to answer it. Who would now be Speaker of the House of Representatives, if Ohio had withheld her vote? The largest slaveholder in that body. Is the election of Banks an anti-slavery gain? Prominent disunion orators say it is, and the Republicans repeat, Amen! Will Republican electors from Ohio, aid in selecting a better man for President than the present incumbent of that office? Time will determine.

But your correspondent thinks the memorial was disposed of with "indecent haste." If he were called upon to aid in the recapture of a fugitive slave, he would not wait to take a recess before answering. Do you take me for a trained bloodhound, that you make such a request? Why? Because on that subject his mind is fully decided and he is at all times prepared to answer promptly. Such no doubt was the case with the Senate's Committee. They were prepared to answer instantly to such a proposal, as was made by the memorialists. Then why not act? There are some men in that body, that are thoroughly acquainted with the arguments of disunionists, and have failed to be convinced by them. J. D. Cattell who presented the memorial is one of them, and O. P. Brown Chairman of the Committee to whom it was referred is another. For aught I know to the contrary the balance of the members are equally conversant with the subject.

Is your correspondent aware, that the two last named gentlemen, whose best known, are recognized as sterling abolitionists, and have been faithfully laboring for years to create the very public sentiment that has placed them where they now are. To style such men political weather-cocks and call upon them to exhibit upon a public stage, the diluted quality of Anti-slavery sentiments of which they make profession to abolitionists, will not injure them. But may subject him, to the charge of undue asperity of feeling. As he is known to be a member of that same Executive Committee, and when their constituents express a doubt of their "moral integrity or political sagacity" they will not doubt think it time to look after their short comings. Of the memorialists they could expect nothing but censure. As a class they have always meted it out, without stint, to all anti-slavery politicians. To cast a vote, is sufficient at any, and at all times, to call down the indignation of these true ones, who have come entirely out from government. And who are in no way countenancing, aiding, or encouraging the peculiar institution.

I regret however that the Committee spoke of the memorial as reasonable and so far as that is concerned, entertain similar views to your correspondent.

B. C. GILBERT.

Atwater, Portage Co. Feb. 26, 1856.

"CAN AFFORD TO BE MAGNANIMOUS."

We are not sure the writer of the following letter designed it for publication, on that account we suppress his name. If he did not he will pardon us. Our friend is in earnest. And whenever an earnest man speaks, we always desire to give him the largest possible audience. Congressional magnanimity was very decidedly manifested also in giving away all the offices but that of Speaker to Slaveholders, Democrats and Know Nothings.—EDITOR.

FREMONT IND. Feb. 27, 1856.

FRIEND ROBINSON—DEAR SIR: The late triumph by the election of Speaker of the House in Congress, on the part of the Republicans, is about neutralized by the said Speaker himself in placing the controlling Southern minds on the committee in which Freedom is most interested, under the plea that the North can afford to be magnanimous. In my mind, to be just is to be magnanimous. Suppose Mr. Speaker Banks' wife and children were in the clutches of the Southern Slave-driver, would he then feel that constituting the committee so as to be magnanimous or to frankly and bluntly refuse to put on committee any person who would not be as true to freedom as Margaret Garner, who can not be excelled in giving evidence of sincerity of purpose? Tell me that a mother, who can take the life of her own child to save it from the Hell of Slavery and instant extermination to repeat it on her remaining children, is not a most noble Heroine worthy of highest honors a military spirit can achieve. Let Ohio allow that noble woman to be either hanged—returned into Slavery, or immured within her prison wall, and she will deserve a thousand execrations to one on whom she crucified Christ. Sir, I would that all slaves possessed her spirit, the more especially, as Northern men, who ought to possess decision of character, to spurn with contempt a wavering idea which might fit across their brain, in order to be "magnanimous," yield each inch of ground gained by the hard fought battles of the friends of freedom; hereby proving that they possess more the spirit of a slave than this noble woman.

Slavery is to be wiped out in blood, and I believe the North will soon be ready to say "let it come" rather than we shall be eternally harassed by this vexed and accursed system, wherein the

moral sensibilities of man are annihilated, where in the Priest and the Court vie with each other in devising refuges of lies, that they may demote the public mind and thereby blot out every vestige of justice from the human race, rather than that truth, as declared by the fathers of '76, should be declared a lie and mankind receive it as such, let it come, and let such a race be annihilated from the face of God's earth.

Kansas! The very name Kansas, already brings with it associations of bloodshed and atrocity, aided and comforted by the Chief executive and his minions. Evidently he intends to establish Slavery there or crush the Nation to powder! But let him drive on his bloody Moloch, his only God; already he has lost the sympathies of the Northern people and has only the conservative spirit among the religious and political bodies, who fearing an exposure of their villainy and corruption, would rather sink the Nation than confess their support, cheek by jowl, of so monstrous an outrage upon God and man! But, Sir, The day is coming that shall burn as an oven. Men will be forgotten. Principles will stand. It is not in humanity to stand still and behold the horrid spectacle of a great Nation like this, making the greatest boasts for freedom, for justice and for God, by mockery of law, crush and drive to desperation a whole Nation of people so that their mothers by their own hands rather than endure such oppression, take the lives of their own children.

The North has endured it long and, Sir, let her but see what she has endured, and she will rise in might, and rend this Union the faded Goddess of Liberty into ten thousand atoms. The utterly demoted condition of her moral sensibilities brought about by the wand of Slavery, alone saves them from instant overthrow and ruin. Priests and devils unite, and called to their aid the name of the united God, to crush the progressive and Liberty-loving spirit among us, but their sacred garb is rent and old Tenebris cloven foot is known of all men. The Priests alone stand and swear by the Eternal, it is Jehovah, himself. But our patience wears in attempting to delineate the facts as they have transpired.

Yours truly,

FROM MICHIGAN.

PONTIAC, Michigan, Feb. 28.

DEAR MARIE: In behalf of the slave, and for the information and encouragement of the numerous friends of the cause, I will give a running sketch of a three weeks tour in North Eastern Michigan, made pursuant to your published notice by Aaron M. Powell, accompanied by myself.—This is a new field of radical anti-slavery, it promises the subjugation of radical anti-slavery, it promises in its early culture a remunerating harvest. The masses though not yet with us in sentiment and philosophy, seem, with a few pious, priestly exceptions more and more willing to hear, and investigate for themselves our claims to their sympathy and co-operation, and are emancipating themselves, and ultimately the slave by thus swelling the world currents of freedom, until they gain volume and impetus to sweep away slavery and forever the foundations of despotism. Exercise is the law of development not only in the physical, but also in the mental and spiritual basis for our free and untrammelled platform, wherein the free, fearless, and unwearied discussion of the equal rights of all men as children of the common Father, unfolds the understanding, arouses the conscience, and enlists the heart, until through the love element, (the divine in man.)

"Gaiest the walls of slavery's battle.
Best God's ocean depths of thought;"

Then let no true heart falter, the world may be against us but armed with the weapons of universal liberty and the genius of consecration, the omnipotent, irresistible forces of the universe are ours, and also the victory; for since God never made a slave every shackle must fall. A faith not true in itself, but based in fact, for everywhere, with the exception of one or two places, our meetings have been of a most encouraging character. The public mind is evidently changing on this great question, which is undeniably the question of the age, involving in its issue, and final settlement the fate of this entire nation and threatening its destruction, under a faithful preaching of the Gospel of anti-slavery. The people are earnestly, and honestly enquiring "what shall we do to be saved?" This fact becomes most obvious, when we observe, on the one hand, the slave oligarchy, with their northern double agent allies, given over seemingly to the madness which precedes destruction in their insane attempts to spread and eternize the slave system and on the other the dissolution of the universal breaking up of parties, the disaffection in the church; but all so many indications of a general and deep seated interest and commotion of the world's great heart; the flood tides of which are swelling up against the murderous weight of oppressive institutions, until high up over their sunken wrecks, they shall bear the slave a man.

We held our first meetings at Almont, which is one of the exceptions ruled by rum, and christianity, it is indeed a "forlorn hope for the slave." Four miles North, at Imley we had good meetings, were most welcome at the house of Mr. Ross who is enlisted for the war. Our next point was Romeo, a flourishing and beautiful village containing a good deal of anti-slavery sentiment. Our meetings were of a character to recommend it to the further notice, and warrant a further expenditure of labor on the part of the Michigan Society. Mr. Powell's next appointment was at Rochester, which he was not allowed to fulfill. The reason for which is embodied in the following note, from a friend in that place, who had previously secured the Baptist Church and made arrangements for us, when a brother minister joined the officiating one, and concluded for the "good of souls" to give anti-slavery the go by. But here is the letter let it speak for itself:

ROCHESTER, Feb. 28.

DEAR SIR: Your lecture will be shut out from here for the present. Elder Coleman and his people feel that they cannot be diverted from their religious meeting, and that an anti-slavery lecture will injuriously affect religious interests.

Respectfully yours,

Well this pious minister and his people, remind me of a story I once heard of a traveling show, or caravan which advertised free admission to clergymen. When show day came, clergymen were not perhaps as (Grace Greenwood describes them to be) so thick that one would imagine it had rained priests for forty days and forty nights on that devoted land, yet they were sufficiently numerous, as one after another came in, to arouse the suspicion of the door keeper as to the genuineness of the article. At last one unusually seedy loafer made his appearance and was about walking in on the free list, when the keeper ventured to inquire if he too was a minister and when answered in the affirmative, very graphically exclaimed, there must

be a hell of a church somewhere if you are a minister. Let me add, that somewhere is Rochester. Elder Coleman and his people being witness.

From Rochester we went to Troy, where we were very kindly entertained by a Mr. Stone and family, who friendly welcome to their house,

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

Miscellaneous.

REPLY TO R. L. ALEXANDER.

ANGOLA, Feb. 16th, 1856.

I send a few lines in reply to R. L. Alexander which may not be so demonstrative or conclusive as desirable, but will show some of the considerations which led me to write as I did. I believe the human spirit to have been so formed that through a faith prompting work, it can remove mountains. The spirit moves first, then matter, it passes through and overcomes matter. We know not of the limits set to its action because we have not seen the fully educated and developed individual.

The fact is well established that the fixed determined gaze of man will cover the fiercest spirit of the wild beast. Is it not because of the power of that essence, which uses the eye as an instrument? If my friend in the north wishes me to read aloud, and ignorant of his thought, I still feel the man, and comply with his unexpressed wish, it strikes me as the direct action of mind on mind, without the medium of language, and frequent experiments of this kind are too successful to be considered mere accidents. I have been with persons who treated me with kindly respect, and yet without a known cause have felt myself the object of unpleasant reflections, and frequently learn afterward that my sensations have not existed without cause. I am strongly repelled from the presence of a silently angry person, and often find myself conscious of their thought at the moment. How often two persons in company think and are about to speak the same thing together. By examination we shall sometimes find that it has occurred to one, aside from the usual train of suggestion, which is the common chain of thought.

Does the wise man disseminate no influence aside from his words and deeds? I will remember how gladly, many years ago, I sought the room of a friend distinguished by unusual intelligence and amiability, to write my compositions remarking at the time, that there was inspiration in her silent presence, and I am aware that, that same unexpressed influence left its impress upon me, and has mingled with the effect which I have since produced on those with whom I have since mingled. I can't demonstrate it, but I know it by the frequent reference I have made to it in efforts at self-culture.

The peculiarities of this sphere, which surrounds every person, I think, quickly appreciated by little children who have not yet learned to modify their intuitive perceptions by the exercise of reason. It is an axiom among observers that the exercise of a certain faculty or disposition by one person will take its like in those around him. For myself, I know that the presence of a silent angry person will rouse my combativeness while the presence of an intellectual person gives more activity to my thoughts than would merely follow from the few words spoken. The more powerful the mind the more marked the effect. I believe, therefore that the wise and eloquent men aside from word or example, carry with them an unseen and effective power which by transmission produces an unceasing chain of effects. In this connection it may be remarked that in an interested audience it is not the attentive eyes, on the cheeks alone, which give inspiration to the speaker.—There is a strong tide of similar thought and acquiescing will, which being concentrated upon him gives wings to his thoughts and flow to his emotions.

When one friend concentrates his mind upon a thought and projects it, so to speak, to the mind of another, far away, his thoughts may be there repeated. Such experiments have been performed and verified by notes and correspondence. I have no other way of accounting for many facts of my individual life. An acquaintance once said, "I believe the time will come when the laws of mind will be so understood that one sitting here may convey his thoughts direct to a friend who is in the same plane of thought and affection in London at any hour which they may agree upon. The winds of time have blown upon some few straws, which point toward such a fact. If it ever becomes understood as a general possibility, may it not be made the instrument of a great moral power?"

I know nothing of the modus operandi of these matters. It might be made a profitable subject of investigation. Perhaps, before mind, space is annihilated, perhaps there is a medium surrounding the earth, which transmits nerve power, as air does sound. In my ignorance I still have as a Yankee the precious privilege of guessing.

As regards the next point, Mrs. F., a woman of cultivated and well balanced mind, sees distinctly, and under circumstances, which would preclude imagination and optical illusion, the form of her deceased child. Her vision is often uninvited for when she sees forms about her and describes them to strangers who unexpectedly recognize the portrait of some friend. The statements of many persons of veracity, concerning these things, are entitled to belief. It makes nothing clearer to say, that the seer of such forms is clairvoyant to read the past knowledge, and half-forgotten memories of those around. Such things are seen in solitude vivid and unexpected. I say from what I have heard, I speak from what I know when I affirm that in the silence of my room I have been startled by the consciousness that spirits were by me, and often delighted and calmed by new thoughts and ideas which came to me out of the usual course of suggestion. But the evidence which may satisfy me is no proof to another. Seek and ye shall find it such things be.

The last question to be answered is in regard to the reformer. In this world when persons enter as leaders upon a contest of general interest, either with arms, words, or the pen, many others are led by their sympathies in regard to the object contended for, to give their aid to those who fight the battle. Being satisfied that life continues beyond this first home, and knowing no reason why those laws to which mind is here subject, should not ever in essence rule it, I concluded that those who were engaged for a truth would attract those of another world, who have once dwelt here, and have here striven for the same truth. The law regarding the silent transmission of thought if it exists, cannot be annulled, and they will inspire him.—With these premises I made an affirmation, which by some must be called merely "supposable" because they are not prepared to admit those premises.

Yours for truth,

A. E. L. R.

DISCUSSION.

PERRINE, Mercer Co. Pa.

Jan. 25, 1856.

MR. EDITOR.—For some months past a Methodist preacher by the name of Kingley, has been particularly denunciatory of that portion of our community, called by the church, "Infidels." Some

time ago, he consented to discuss the "Bible question" at length, if we would produce an opponent. He affirming the superhuman origin and divine authenticity of the Bible. Accordingly Mr. W. W. Walker of New Bedford was engaged to meet him, and on the 21st inst. they met, and Mr. Kingley proposed the following resolutions, as embodying the points in dispute, and with the expressed mutual understanding, that they embraced the whole question at issue, between the so-called Infidel, and the orthodox part of community, viz:

Resolved, 1st. That the Bible contains a full and perfect revelation of the will of God to man.

2nd. That the revelation of the will of God contained in the Bible is of superhuman origin and divinely authenticated.

After Mr. Kingley had spent one hour professing in defense of the resolutions, Mr. Walker commenced a demonstration of the fact that the Bible not only did not contain a full and perfect revelation of God's will, but actually taught doctrines and sanctioned practices in direct opposition thereto. Scarcely had he commenced his argument when he was called to order by his opponent! An appeal being made to the moderators the orthodox majority decided that Mr. Walker had no right according to the question to adduce anything in disproof of the alleged perfection of the Bible! To this decision they adhered. Whereupon Mr. Walker stated that he had come by invitation 30 miles to defend the usual Infidel ground in relation to the Bible and he considered the conduct of the friends of the Bible in this matter as a gross deception and outrage upon him and then challenged any person to meet him on the true issue, before the public and pledged himself to prove that the Bible taught bad morality, false history, &c. &c. And though it was urged upon Mr. Kingley by his religious brethren as his solemn duty to defend the Bible and stated that his refusal would be deemed a cowardly admission of his inability so to do, he declined the task and stated plainly in defense of his conduct that he did not believe the Bible perfect and free from errors himself! Thus declaring himself Infidel to parts of the book. Yet he will no doubt continue to denounce and ridicule Infidelity.

Yours